

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● TUESDAY AUGUST 1, 1972 ● No. 830 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## Ulster invasion is a warning to all workers

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

THE VAST military pogrom launched against the Catholic community in Northern Ireland marks a dramatic escalation in the Tory government's war against the working class in both Britain and Ireland.

The last time the British army invaded on such a scale was in Aden when the Argyll regiment rampaged through the Crater district murdering civilians and resistance fighters.

The same methods were used in yesterday's dawn sweep. Over 7,000 troops poured into Republican strongholds — the task force was equipped for full-scale war with tanks, hundreds of armoured vehicles, light artillery and, in Derry, landing craft.

This act of open war in Ulster serves as a great warning to British workers.

They will ignore these events at their peril. The same government that sent in the tanks threatens to use troops against the dockers and has already jailed five of them.

On an international scale the economy is facing an enormous crash. This will mean rocketing unemployment, poverty and more vicious oppression by the ruling class—in other words all the social conditions of Ulster today.

The Tory government will be forced to use its army against British workers too. It has no choice. This is why Ireland and Britain is one struggle, one fight for the working class.

Brigadier Frank Kitson, who served in Ulster and is now head of the School of Infantry at Warminster, made this point crystal clear in his book 'Low Intensity Operations'.

Kitson, one of the high flyers in the British army, said:

'If a genuine and serious grievance arose such as might result from a significant drop in the standard of living, all those who now dissipate their protest over a wide variety of causes might concentrate their efforts and pro-



Troops start a search mission in Belfast after yesterday's invasion

# TORY TANKS ROLL IN



A Catholic barricade is broken up. Another picture p. 3

duce a situation which was beyond the power of the police to handle.

'Should this happen, the army would be required to restore the position rapidly.'

The army action early yesterday morning had been carefully prepared by the Tories ever since direct rule in March. Their strategy is clearly revealed, and it is an indictment of the Republican leadership.

While both wings of the IRA were involved in the phoney peace manoeuvres with the Tories' Ulster Secretary William Whitelaw, the army — through Ulster Unionist leaders like premier Brian Faulkner—consolidated their hold over the extreme Protestant organizations.

It was surely no coincidence that the Ulster Defence Association and the Vanguard movement were warned in advance of the invasion and immediately pulled their barricades down.

The Tories have used these forces as a bargaining counter against the Republican leader-

ship and as a source of intimidation of the Catholic community.

Then the Provisionals played their last card and fell into the trap. They swung violently from the most opportunist negotiations with the Tories on peace to another bout of indiscriminate terror.

This gave the Tories the final opportunity to prepare the necessary conditions for invasion.

Whitelaw said yesterday that the pogrom was a direct response to 'Bloody Friday' — July 21 — when women and children were killed by Provisional bombs.

But he did not reveal that the army and the Ulster authorities allowed this slaughter by ignoring IRA advance warnings on where the bombs were planted.

The army is now in a position to root out, arrest or kill all Republican elements left in the North.

Only one force is capable of dealing with the armed killers of British imperialism—the unity of the working class of Britain and Ireland. The Socialist Labour

League has pointed out consistently that army terror in Ulster can only be stopped by class action to force the Tory government to resign.

This has great relevance to workers in the Republic.

Their Tory premier Jack Lynch was told of this invasion hours before it occurred. But he did nothing to warn the Irish workers of Belfast and Derry—his alliance with Whitelaw and the British Tories is too precious to the capitalists and bishops of the Republic.

Irish workers must remove this man and his party by class action—he has betrayed them once more.

The labour movement in both

nations must unite and fight for this programme now —

● All British troops out of the North immediately.

● Disbandment of the army at home and abroad.

● A General Strike to end the Tory government.

● The election of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies of nationalization under workers' control and without compensation.

● For a socialist united Ireland.

When the army 'did a Dresden' in Derry. See p. 3.

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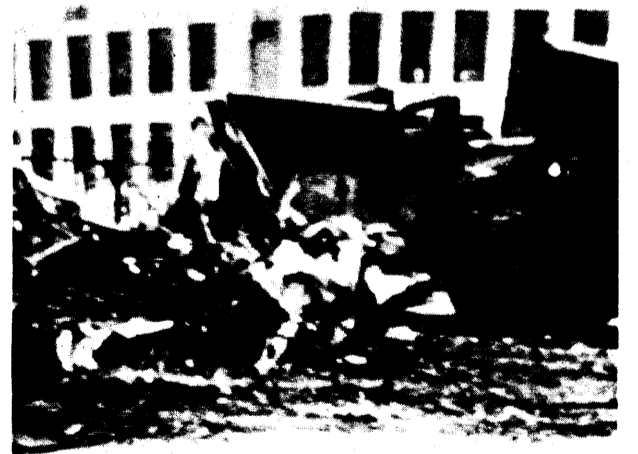
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## The 'Daily Telegraph': a statement

THE TORY 'Daily Telegraph' has uncovered a 'plot'. It got front-page lead treatment in yesterday's editions. With photographs.

In its later editions the 'Daily Express' picked up the same scare story.

Their 'plot', believe it or not, was the Young Socialists' annual summer camp held in Essex.

The facts are these: The Young Socialists have held a camp each year for the past four years at the Essex site. It serves as a holiday and educational outing for supporters and their families.

For the past month or more it has been advertised in the youth paper of the Young Socialists, 'Keep Left', which makes the right-wing press's claims about 'secrecy', etc., look a bit sick.

These grotesque distortions are in line with and prompted by the Tory government's attack on trade unionists.

They want to create a scare under the black banner of 'law and order', 'defence of the rule of law'. They want to frighten off the middle classes from the fighting organizations of the working class.

The 'Daily Telegraph', which runs scare stories about our camp, also wants to jail dockers, rush into the Common Market, keep unemployment at 'reasonable levels', smash council housing and above all, keep Heath in power.

The working class will treat their slanders and distortions with the utter contempt they deserve.

## Nobody's selling yet...

# Gold: Record post-war price

BY AN ECONOMICS CORRESPONDENT

THE 'FREE MARKET' price of gold continued to climb steeply yesterday. It was fixed in the morning in London at \$68.90 an ounce—a new post-war record and up 65 cents on Friday's closing price. Despite a considerable demand for the metal, however, there were few sellers. Gold-holders clearly expect the price to rise still further in the near future.

The gold price rise is a direct consequence of the failure of all efforts to reach agreement among the major capitalist countries on the future of the international monetary system following Nixon's measures of August 15 last year.

In particular, the Tory decision to float the pound has forced the other Common Market countries to take desperate action to protect their own currencies against another spate of parity changes.

Germany and Holland are trying with severe exchange controls to stave off another revaluation which would make their exports even more expensive against those of the United States.

They are also trying to pre-

vent a devaluation of the Italian lira which would further disrupt the internal economic relations within the EEC. At the recent Franco-Italian summit it was agreed that the two countries would press for an increase in the official gold price within the Common Market so as to protect Italy's foreign exchange reserves. Italy holds about 40 per cent of its reserves in gold and under existing Common Market rules its debt to other EEC central banks which supported the lira last month should be repaid in this proportion of gold.

If the official gold price were raised for transactions within the Common Market it would make the repayments easier for Italy to bear.

However, it would also create a third gold price in addition to the 'official' \$38 an ounce fixed by the US Treasury and the rising 'free market' price which is now nearly double this figure.

Such a move would intensify the existing trend towards the

formation of hostile monetary blocs and the complete breakdown of the remaining international monetary agreements.

Nixon's abolition of dollar convertibility, the bedrock of the post-war capitalist monetary system, has also created a severe crisis for the International Monetary Fund.

A number of countries, including the United Arab Emirates and Bangla Desh, want to join the Fund, but have no monetary gold to pay their entrance fee.

France and Japan have refused to participate in an IMF scheme to raise the gold from the main Fund members on the grounds that had the US not suspended convertibility the states involved could have bought gold from the American Treasury at the (cheaper) official price.

Last year Syria broke the IMF agreement by buying gold on the free market to repay debts to the Fund after the US and other countries had refused to sell the metal from their reserves.

## Rolls' men accept £2.50

THREE THOUSAND production workers at a Rolls-Royce plant in Coventry yesterday voted to accept an interim pay offer of an extra £2.50 a week.

The workers, who make jet engines, had threatened strike action in the event of an unsatisfactory offer.

Shop stewards, recommending acceptance at a mass meeting, said there were to be further talks at national level.

## Timpson kill Kettering shoe jobs

ABOUT 650 people are to lose their jobs under a plan announced yesterday by the giant Manchester-based footwear group, William Timpson Ltd., to shut down one of its subsidiaries at Kettering.

The group's board said that employees of Tite and Garfirth (T. Shoes) Ltd would receive about £150,000 in redundancy payments, plus £50,000 in ex-gratia awards 'in an endeavour to minimize the inevitable hardships created by the closure'.

The factory will close in December and the group will cease manufacturing footwear. It will concentrate on retailing.

The group said heavy losses in 1969 resulted in the then manufacturing division of the Timpson group being reorganized, and emerging as Tite and Garfirth (T Shoes) Ltd.

Despite vigorous management action, the company continued to lose money until 1971.

## Peg shirt imports plea

THE GOVERNMENT was urged yesterday to peg shirt imports at a 'reasonable' level.

The British Shirt Manufacturers' Federation expressed growing concern at 'the accelerating rate of imports from low-cost countries'.

It felt a critical situation had been reached, with imports accounting for 50 per cent of domestic market consumption.

If the current trend continued, Britain would import 45 million shirts in 1972 (compared with 22 million in 1970).

Federation chairman William Cole said:

'We are seriously perturbed by the latest figures which show an ever-quickenening rate of imports from countries such as Taiwan, Portugal and Hongkong.'

Manufacturers recognized that the situation would come within the scope of a promised review of all textile imports, but wanted the government to give their particular problem special consideration.

## Jaguar rate strike on: Rover return

ONE MIDLANDS car strike continued yesterday after the summer holiday—but another was settled.

The strike at Jaguar Cars at Coventry continued. Two thousand men seeking better piecework rates have been out since the end of June. Another 3,000 have been laid off and £7m lost in production.

But the strike at Rover's main assembly plant at Solihull, Warwickshire, is over.

The plant stayed shut yesterday—delaying the return of almost 4,000 workers from holiday.

But the 120 internal drivers whose dispute over job-grading stopped car and Land-Rover production for two days before the holiday, have accepted a union recommendation and agreed to return to work today.

The management has asked all laid-off workers to report back at normal starting times tomorrow, with the exception of about 250 men on the Range Rover assembly line, where production will be held up until later in the week because of a shortage of parts.

## FOREIGN NEWS

# Fears for safety of Vietnam dykes

NORTH VIETNAM fears that its dyke systems may not be able to withstand disastrous flooding on a large scale caused by the systematic American bombardment.

Phan My, the vice-minister of water conservation, said in Hanoi:

'Although the bombing and shelling against the dykes in North Vietnam have not yet caused floods because the water level in the rivers has not risen high, the calculated US

attacks on the dykes bear a very dangerous character since it is a calculated effort to make the dykes give way easily once the water level rises high in the flood season.'

He charged the US with launching a deliberate campaign of destruction against the dykes, damaging or destroying thousands of metres of river and sea walls.

Monsoon floods endanger the lives of millions of Vietnamese in the Red River Delta if the dyke system is breached.

The rivers in Viet-

nam flow several feet above the level of the surrounding plain.

President Nixon recently admitted that the dykes had been damaged by US planes,

but claimed the damage was accidental.

Previously US spokesmen had denied any damage to dykes, despite the testimony of many eye-witnesses.

## SADAT IN LIBYA

PRESIDENT Anwar Sadat of Egypt was received by Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi when he arrived in Tobruk yesterday to discuss Libyan calls for a full merger between the two nations.

According to the Egyptians, the two men will discuss the present Middle East situation

following president Sadat's decision to end the massive Soviet presence in Egypt.

The Libyans, however, have mounted a big campaign for a merger between Libya and Egypt, in addition to the Federation of Arab Republics (FAR) which already links the two nations with Syria.

## Nixon's man in Moscow trade talks

PETER PETERSON, the American Secretary of Commerce, held three hours of talks with Soviet Communist Party chief Leonid Brezhnev in the Crimea on Sunday.

According to officials, the two men discussed 'concrete steps towards the possible joint development of natural resources and the manufacture and sale of various products'.

This is believed to refer to the possibility of American big business developing natural-gas resources in Siberia.

Under such a scheme the Soviet Union would then sell the gas to the United States to pay off the vast develop-

ment costs, estimated to amount to at least \$4,000m for one gasfield alone.

The talks, described as 'forward-looking and congenial,' are a follow-up to President Nixon's summit in May. Nixon and Brezhnev agreed at their talks that economic and commercial links were 'an important and necessary element in the strengthening of their bilateral relations and thus will actively promote the growth of such ties'.

American capitalism has long had its eye on the immense natural reserves of the Soviet Union, both as an outlet for capital investment

and as a source of raw material.

For the Americans the Crimea talks are a step towards realizing their ambitions in this part of the world.

The injection of large amounts of American capital into the Soviet Far East and Siberia throws great strain on the monopoly of foreign trade which is one of the foundations of the Soviet social system.

In its pursuit of 'peaceful co-existence' with imperialism, the Stalinist bureaucracy is forced to make major concessions to international capitalism.

## Australian 'emergency' over oil

AUSTRALIAN Tory premier William McMahon has threatened to recall parliament and take emergency powers unless striking oil maintenance workers return to work.

The maintenance men's month-long strike has brought much of the country's industry to a standstill, but the government is determined not to concede their wage demand.

McMahon's get-tough policy follows a major retreat by 'left'-talking union leader Robert Hawke who heads the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

Hawke allowed a return to work at two oil refineries under Australian ownership, while the strike continued at refineries of Esso, Mobil and Shell.

This satisfied neither the employers nor the Tories. The employers insisted that the oil from the refineries should be made available to all companies, but the men refused to fill tankers from the 'blacked' firms.

As a result, these refineries are now out on strike again. Meanwhile, McMahon has said that Hawke's compromise is not enough.

'The critical point is that the dispute as a whole has not been settled and we cannot permit any one person or group to decide who will or will not get petrol,' he said.

Hawke replied that the government could 'for a change' play a useful role if it brought the oil companies back to the negotiating table.

In fact, however, the Australian Tories are bent on breaking the strike by whatever means they can muster.

## Poulson returns to bankruptcy hearing

MR JOHN POULSON, the Yorkshire architect, will resume giving evidence in the Wakefield bankruptcy court today.

At the previous public hearing Poulson interrupted his evidence when he suddenly felt ill. He was taken from the witness box to hospital, but later allowed to go home.

At the time he broke down Poulson was explaining how certain sums of money were paid to high-ranking civil servants and to MPs.

He was also asked about a covenant paid to the Adeline Genee theatre trust for Mr Reginald Maudling, chairman of one of his companies.

As a result of these revelations and because of a fraud squad investigation into the Poulson empire, Maudling resigned as Home Secretary.

Since Poulson last gave evidence to the court, the bank-



John Poulson

ruptcy hearing has been proceeding in camera. Last week a business associate of Poulson's, Mr T. Dan Smith, gave private evidence.

Smith, former head of the Northern Economic Planning Council and ex-mayor of Newcastle, was public relations consultant to the Labour Party.

In 1964 Smith founded Open System Building Limited which later became one of Poulson's key companies.

After Smith left the firm, it was taken over by Mrs Cynthia Poulson and a blue chip board comprising Sir Bernard Kenyon, clerk to the West Riding County Council, and a senior official of the National Coal Board.

Whether the Poulson inquiry proceeds today depends to a large extent on the parallel investigation by Commander James Crane of Scotland Yard's fraud squad.

At the time of Maudling's resignation the Tory leader, Edward Heath, announced that Crane was looking into the Poulson group on the instructions of the Director of Public Prosecutions.

The court may be unwilling to continue with the fraud squad investigation now under way.

## Equity wants film studios closed shop

ACTORS' Equity has lodged a new application—this time in conjunction with film employers—for an approved closed-shop under the Industrial Relations Act.

The application has been made to the National Industrial Relations Court by the union and the Film Producers' Association of Great Britain.

If granted, it would cover the production of feature films and television series. The application could be referred to the Commission on Industrial Relations without a formal court hearing.

Already Equity has lodged a joint application with the theatre employers for an approved closed-shop. Its leaders are supposed to be fighting the same employers for a £30 minimum wage in the West End.

The union has been suspended from the TUC for registering under the Industrial Relations Act.



Good God! I do believe he's coming back for more

# When the army 'did a Dresden' in Derry

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN DERRY

SHORTLY after 5 a.m. yesterday British troops marched into a house on the corner of the Creggan Estate in Derry and announced to the occupants that the premises had been requisitioned.

Under Section 32 of the Special Powers Act the army can demand private accommodation for their own use.

The disgruntled owner of these particular premises walked out into the street and asked one of the officers in charge:

'How long are you going to be here?'

'About a week,' the officer replied.

'That's too fucking long,' the man said. 'You've been here 800 years already.'

This exchange is a microcosm of the feeling in Derry yesterday as the British army unleashed its full might on the two no-go ghettos Creggan and Bogside.

It was a huge show of strength. Centurion tanks, Saladin armoured cars, armed personnel carriers, helicopters, eight battalions comprising 5,000 men.

THE INVASION plan was drawn up in August last year just after internment. The permanent barricades were thrown up in the anger which followed the shooting of Eamonn Lafferty (18), a lieutenant in the Provisional wing of the IRA, on August 18.

When General Robert Ford put the scheme to Stormont, he received enthusiastic backing. But in London the operation was considered to be extremely hazardous. For instance, one of the critics of the plan asked the generals: 'Okay, so you smash the barricades and occupy the no-go areas, but can you hang onto them? Won't this expose your soldiers to snipers from every rooftop in the area?'

The generals gave reassurances, however, that their casualties would be 'light'. They argued that only a full-scale onslaught could hammer the republicans into submission.

One politician who was disquieted by the plan told his colleagues: 'Some of these generals are alarming chaps. They think they're fighting World War II over again. We're not taking Dresden, you know. It's only a suburb of a tiny provincial town.'

In the event, the 'wisdom' of the generals prevailed. On Sunday afternoon a special commemorative rally was held in Derry to mark the six months since Bloody Sunday when 13 civilians were shot down by the First Paratroop Regiment.



Vehicles on the move during Monday's invasion in Derry

People at the demonstration were emotional and apprehensive. The Tories' Ulster Secretary, William Whitelaw, had announced that their resistance would be broken and the news on radio and television was filled with information about troop movements.

The Provos were told of the imminent invasion last week when the government announced the despatch of a further 4,000 troops. Since then they have been gradually slipping out of Derry and Belfast and heading to sanctuaries in the republic.

ANYONE on the banks of the River Foyle early yesterday morning would have seen an extraordinary sight. Large motorized barges carrying a cargo which was heavily tarped.

At Fort George, an old naval depot, the barges berthed and the equipment was stealthily unloaded. They were huge Centurion tanks fitted with special earth-moving apparatus.

At 4.05 a.m. the Provos' siren in the Creggan began its terrible wailing. In the streets a number of cars roared into life and started racing up and down the streets blowing their horns. Down at the barricades the Centurions went into action crushing the barricades.

In Bogside things went differently. The people heard the siren, heard the roaring engines of the tanks, saw the armoured vehicles rumble up their roadways, saw the black-faced soldiers climb over their garden fences and scramble from one doorway to the next.

There was no resistance. Just a deathly sullenness.

Every soldier had been specifically instructed to act with the utmost courtesy. This was stringently adhered to.

One case was reported of a Scots Guard losing his cool. He fired a rubber bullet at the legs of a teenage girl who was in a crowd clapping and jeering. He was immediately relieved of duty.

The army used six battalions to take the Bogside and Creggan—the First King's Own Borderers, the First Royal Scots, the Second Royal Grenadiers, the Second Light Infantry, the Third Royal Fusiliers and the Scots Guards.

The public relations organization which was assembled simultaneously with the troop movements was at pains to explain that two regiments—the 20th Medium Regiment and the Royal Welsh Fusiliers—had also taken down barricades at Derry's

Protestant area on the Waterside.

But as these barricades were built by the Unionist-backed Ulster Defence Association as a bargaining counter, the PR gimmick fell rather flat.

Further evidence of the way the army has worked hand-in-glove with the Loyalists was demonstrated late on Sunday night when a Vanguard spokesman admitted that he and his colleagues had received prior information that a major military operation was underway.

'That is why,' he explained, 'we last night called upon Loyalists to remove their barricades.'

He ended his press comment with a curious statement: 'All we now hope is that the troops will be allowed to go in and do the job without their hands tied.'

Do what 'job'? Is there another 'job' besides the removal of the barricades?

Of course there is. The Tory government knows it, the army knows it, the Unionists know it, the capitalist press knows it.

Murder, terror, torture and internment has not broken the resistance of the Catholic working class. In desperation Heath and his colleagues have chosen their 'final solution'.

# THE STORY OF A MAJOR TORY FRAUD

## THE ZINOVIEV LETTER

By Peter Jeffries Part 2

The Zinoviev Letter was the focus for a capitalist press campaign to prevent the Labour Party from coming to power. In fact the men behind the forgery were not only the propaganda barons of Fleet Street but staff in the Tory controlled Foreign Office. The result was that many overshot the mark.

The Letter was in fact forged in Berlin earlier in 1924 with the deliberate intention of trying to smash any trade treaty between Britain and the USSR. Berlin was the leading European centre for the activities of the circles of professional anti-communists who plotted and planned in a desperate attempt to bring about the downfall of the Soviet regime by any possible means.

The letter was drafted by an Alexis Bellegarde, a brilliant linguist, virulent anti-Bolshevik and a later employee of British Intelligence. It was largely as a result of the revelations of Bellegarde's widow in 1956 that it was possible to uncover all the main details of the fraud.

Bellegarde was assisted in his task by Alexander Gumansky another devoted anti-communist and member of the large émigré Russian community resident in the Berlin of the 1920s. The forging actually took place—on notepaper stolen from the Soviet Embassy in Berlin—in the third floor apartment of 117 Eisenacherstrasse in the Charlottenburg district.

After the job was done the forgery was passed onto the Polish government who seized on it, knowing it to be a fake, as part of their efforts to crush the young Soviet regime.

General Paciorowski was the key man in this stage of the operations. A few embellishments were made to the document which was then passed on to British intelligence.

The man who almost certainly picked it up from the Poles and brought it to London was Captain Sydney Reilly, a leading spy in the service of British intelligence and a close friend of Churchill.

As a British agent he had established himself as a member of the Soviet government and was later condemned to death *in absentia* for his part in an attempt on Lenin's life. The tone of his anti-Bolshevism may be judged from the following despatch:

'Here in Moscow there is growing to maturity the arch-enemy of the human race . . . monsters of crime and perversions . . . Here the foulest, most monstrous and most obscene passions gibber and swagger in the seats of government.'

Reilly passed on the letter—which he certainly knew to be a forgery—to Admiral Sir Hugh Sinclair, a key figure in the direction of British intelligence.

But in order to force the



A week before the General Election, in October 1924, the alleged Zinoviev letter was published and the first ever Labour government fell. Top: members of that government. Left to right: J. H. Thomas, Ramsay MacDonald PM, Arthur Henderson Home Secretary. Above: Conrad Donald in Thurm, former British spy and the vital link between Conservative party, the Foreign Office and the Secret Service.

publication of the forgery, Reilly also contacted his old friend and former British spy Conrad Donald im Thurm.

It was im Thurm who was to be the vital link between the Conservative Party, the Foreign Office and the Secret Service.

Im Thurm, also noted in City circles for his anti-Soviet views, educated at Radley, was director of the London Steamship and Trading Corporation, known as the Russian Volunteer Fleet.

Im Thurm, after being told

of the letter's contents (he never actually saw a copy), then approached Guy Kinder—which owned the remnants of the fleet of merchant vessels sley, Conservative MP for Hitchin, and contacted the Conservative Party treasurer, Lord Younger, who agreed to pay £7,500 for the letter, to be given to Reilly (whose identity was not apparently disclosed to the Conservative leader) for his services in helping to engineer the defeat of the Labour government.

But the 'Daily Mail', the most determined anti-working-class paper in the preceding weeks, also obtained its own copy.

It got it from Vice Admiral Sir Reginald Hall, war-time director of Naval Intelligence, later Conservative MP and the Party's Principal Agent.

His source was, in turn, Sinclair, who had worked for him during the war and who claimed he was convinced that the Labour government was about to wind up the intelligence service.

A key man in the conspiracy was Mr J. D. Gregory, head of the Foreign Office Russian Department, an anti-communist with many friends in Russian émigré circles. It was Gregory, with the agreement of his Foreign Office chief, Sir Eyre Crowe, who released the forgery and drafted the letter of complaint to the Russians. In doing so Gregory ignored or altered many of MacDonald's corrections to the original draft.

Gregory was later to be sacked from the Foreign Office when, in 1928, in connection with a case involving currency deals, it was revealed that he had used his access to Foreign Office cables to speculate in French francs.

Despite Baldwin's protestations that he always believed

the letter to be genuine, all the top Tories were part of the conspiracy along with their Civil Service and police friends.

The Tories established a fake Cabinet Committee of inquiry into the event after the Tories had won the election chaired by the Foreign Secretary which found 'no foundation' to Labour charges that the letter was a forgery.

And when Gregory's dismissal threatened to reopen the scandal in 1928, Baldwin produced a signed statement from im Thurm, a mixture of downright lies and misleading statements, which was used by Baldwin to avoid any inquiry into the conduct of the Civil Service.

And im Thurm was duly rewarded.

He was paid his £5,000 out of the personal account of Lord Davidson, then Conservative chairman.

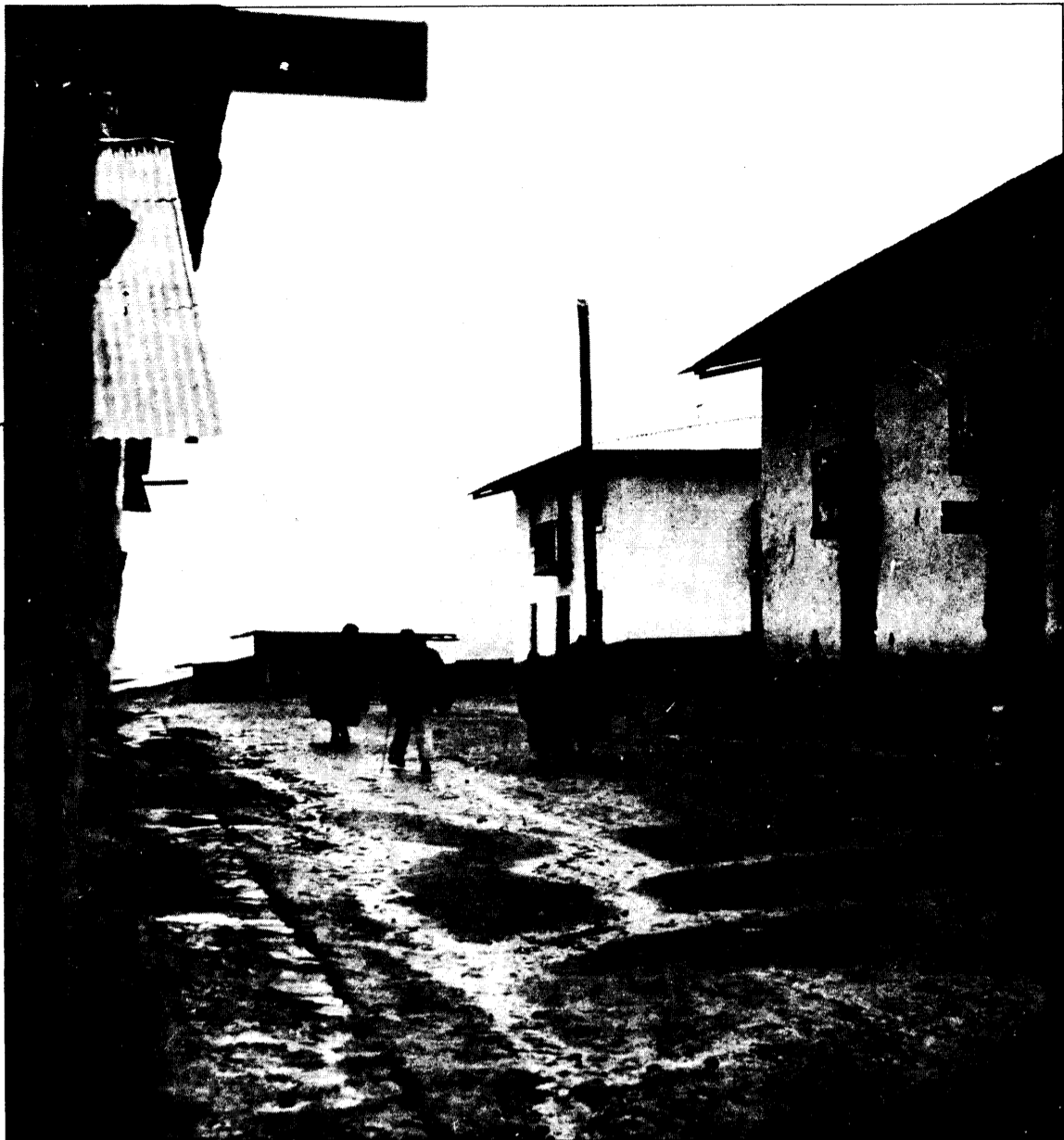
The money was paid to Major Joseph Ball, director of Conservative publicity who transmitted the money to im Thurm. Whether the latter actually paid Reilly is not known.

Thus the Red Letter scare was over.

It had done its work in securing the election of a Conservative government at a vital time.

Not only did it show the cunning and deception which the Tories have always displayed against their opponents. It also revealed the weakness and perfidy of the Labour leaders whose reformism left them utterly prostrate before the conspiracy.

1972 is certainly not 1924. No doubt the working class today will be on the look-out for any such attempted frame-ups. The Zinoviev letter should be a serious warning to every worker now engaged in battle against the Heath government.



Above: Peasants in a village. Below: Velasco proclaiming land-reform laws.



## MASS STRIKES IN PERU

BY JOHN SPENCER

In the last two months, three Peruvian towns have been on General Strike. The first was in Arequipa against the sacking of miners and teachers, the second in Puno against the murder of workers, and in Trujillo in support of wage demands.

At the moment, conflicts are likely in the mines against the arrest of miners, in the textile industry against the closure of factories and in assembly plants against rationalization.

Both the capitalist press and official communiqués have kept a complete silence on the reasons for the June 27 demonstration in Puno against President Velasco's military government when his wife visited the city.

In his press conference on July 5, Velasco described the demonstration as 'evil and scandalous'.

In fact, Puno is a department full of unemployment and extreme poverty. Thousands of landless peasants are under attack from the measures in the so-called 'progressive' agrarian reform.

This legitimate public demonstration met with violent repression; three demonstrators were killed and many others wounded.

Demonstrators reacted by attacking the headquarters of the hated Republican Guard and a six-day General Strike followed.

These actions forced the government to retreat and troops and tanks were withdrawn. The city was controlled by the working class and the local radio stations only broadcast statements vetted by the working class.

There were only solidarity strikes in Cuzco and Arequipa.

The Stalinist leadership of the Peruvian trades unions has not protested about the military's attack.

This complicity has allowed

the military government to take control of the situation by murdering another worker, arresting many and declaring a state of emergency and the suspension of constitutional guarantees in the whole department.

The Stalinists are working might and main to prevent a political fight against Velasco's repression.

The Peruvian CP is campaigning for 'the reorganizing of the Ministry of Labour' because 'the revolution has not reached there yet'. They claim the government's anti-working class policies are a result of the 'corrupt functionaries' of previous governments who still remain in office.

Yet Velasco's 'revolution' is aimed precisely at the destruction of the working class and its organizations in Peru—the preparation of a fascist corporate state. The Peruvian Stalinists are pursuing a policy which can only lead to their own destruction and the disorganization of the working class.

# YUGO BANK GOES WILD

The Investment and Commercial Bank, based in Split, Yugoslavia, is in serious trouble. To put it crudely, the bank has been issuing credit like a drunken sailor on a spree, without any funds to back it up.

As a result, its debts to the National Bank of Yugoslavia now amount to the staggering total of 675 million dinars. This is only marginally less than £20m.

At a meeting earlier this month, the bank's management declared that the main reasons for the troubles 'lay in mistaken business policy, objective factors playing only a secondary role'.

It will take until the end of 1973 to pay off the debt to the National Bank, despite 'tremendous efforts' by other Dalmatian enterprises to smooth the management's task.

The bank's insolvency, however, has created big problems for Dalmatian industry. The cut-back in credit facilities means that all new construction has been indefinitely postponed.

Only contracts which have already started are being carried through. These include a hydroelectric station on the river Cetina at Orlovac, an aluminium combine at Sibenik and a hydrated alumina works at Obrovac.

An index of the severity of the crisis is the close interest being taken by President Tito in the bank's affairs. Last week he met Dr Ivo Perisin, president of the Croatian executive council, Ante Jurevic, president of the Split municipal party organization and Jaksa Milicic, president of the Split council.

Tito was told about the restrictions on investment and informed that new investments would not be undertaken until the economic situation had improved and the economy was stabilized.

He reportedly showed 'special interest' in the Industrial and Commercial Bank's problems. Perisin told him a great wave of investment in tourist buildings had taken place in Split and this had led to the bank's difficulties.

Following great efforts, he added, the bank had now begun to function normally.

## BOMB CULTURES

Nationalist China, India and Israel all have reactors and enough plutonium to produce nuclear bombs.

This has been revealed by a special report drawn up by the United Nations Association of the United States.

The development in Nationalist China (Taiwan) is particularly suspicious. Canadian experts are building an atomic reactor that in one year will produce enough plutonium to make an atomic weapon.

Taiwan already has four reactors, but these are fuelled by 20-per-cent enriched uranium which is subject to international restriction by the United States and the Soviet Union.

But the \$35m Canadian project to be built in north Taiwan will be supplied with natural uranium which is not subject to any safeguards and can be bought freely on the open market. The reactor will come into operation next year and is understood to be capable of producing 22lbs of plutonium a year—enough for a bomb.

Because of the sudden

switch the experts believe that Taiwan, led by the ageing communist hater Chiang Kai-shek, could be planning to divert plutonium into nuclear weapon production.

Reactors of the Taiwanese type are already in production in Israel—deeply involved in the Middle East confrontation with the Arab states—and India where a research reactor is capable of producing 209lbs of plutonium.

It takes 13.2lb to produce the 'tamped sphere' to form the critical mass which is the same thing as a workable atomic bomb.

The proliferation of nuclear weapons makes nonsense of the United Nations' pious but totally useless platitudes and plans for control of weapons of mass destruction.

The so-called treaty to stop the spread of weapons is now four years old, yet is unsigned by nine countries which have the power reactors or research reactors operating within their borders capable of producing weapons.

Below: India's reactor



# THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF YOUNG WINSTON

BY JOHN CRAWFORD

**A wave of Churchillian ballyhoo is swirling round Fleet Street in the wake of Richard Attenborough's film 'Young Winston'. It is not just the work of the film industry's public relations machine, however.**

Amid economic crisis and public scandal, the sigh is heard from Orpington to Finchley: where is the Leader, the strong man? Where is the man to put strikers in their place? Where is the Man on Horseback?

It is not surprising that the middle class, the little men, look back with longing on the writer of the words: "If ever this country is defeated in war, I hope we may find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful place among the nations." (Winston Churchill, 'Great Contemporaries', 1936.)

Or on the politician who visited Mussolini in 1927 and declared to the Rome Fascisti: "If I had been an Italian, I would have been with you from the beginning to the end of your glorious struggle against the bestial appetites of Leninism."

Of course, none of this appears in the reverent presentation of Attenborough. After all, was not the script worked on by the ex-'left' Carl Foreman? Whatever 'character defects' are depicted in the film Churchill's role as enemy of the working class remains decently hidden.

Who was the real Young Winston? He was grandson of the Duke of Marlborough, son of the discarded Tory leader Lord Randolph Churchill. A failure at Harrow, he found his way through the army to journalism and parliament.

His aggressiveness, pugnacity and ruthless ambition were not merely personal characteristics. They sprang from the situation of British imperialism at the height of its brutal conquests, brash, thrusting, utterly self-confident in its drive for profits.

Churchill only became the supreme leader of imperialism when the proud British lion had become a toothless, mangy old beast. But in those early years, his style of bombastic, pompous rhetoric fulfilled equally the needs of his own personal ambition and the requirements of his class, the class which ruled the world.

Lord Randolph had tried—and failed—to turn the Tory Party towards the backward elements of the working class. In Ulster, in particular, he discovered that "the Orange card is the card to play".

From his Sandhurst days on, Winston was working in the same direction, finding his way towards demagoguery. And in the use of military force to subdue the colonial peoples, he was learning the methods which the Empire in decay would one day employ against the British workers.

Churchill was always fascinated by war. In 'My Early Life' he says:

"War, which used to be cruel and magnificent, has now become cruel and squalid... It is all the fault of democracy and science... War has ceased to be a gentleman's game."

But when, in 1914, British imperialism had to defend itself against its rivals, Churchill found no difficulty in sending hundreds of thousands of men to the most horrible deaths in a 'democratic' and 'scientific' way.

An entry in the diary of Lady Asquith for 1912 shows this aspect of the Churchillian make-up. "W. in glorious form though slightly over-concentrated on instruments of destruction. Blasting and shattering are now his *idées fixes*. As we leaned side by side against the taffrail, gliding past the lovely, smiling coastline of the Adriatic, bathed in sun, I remarked: "How perfect!" He startled me by his reply: "Yes—range perfect—visibility perfect—if we had got some six-inch guns on board how easily we could bombard... etc. etc." and details followed showing how effectively we could lay waste the landscape and blow the nestling towns sky-high. He was enthralled by the technology of naval warfare and his sense of its results in human terms was for the time being in abeyance."

Churchill was then not a schoolboy, but a 38-year-old politician. Three years later, as First Lord of the Admiralty, he ordered the Gallipoli landing. 200,000 men died as a result.

But in 1895, when he joined the Fourth Hussars, he had still to cause a single death. He sought eagerly to remedy this lack.

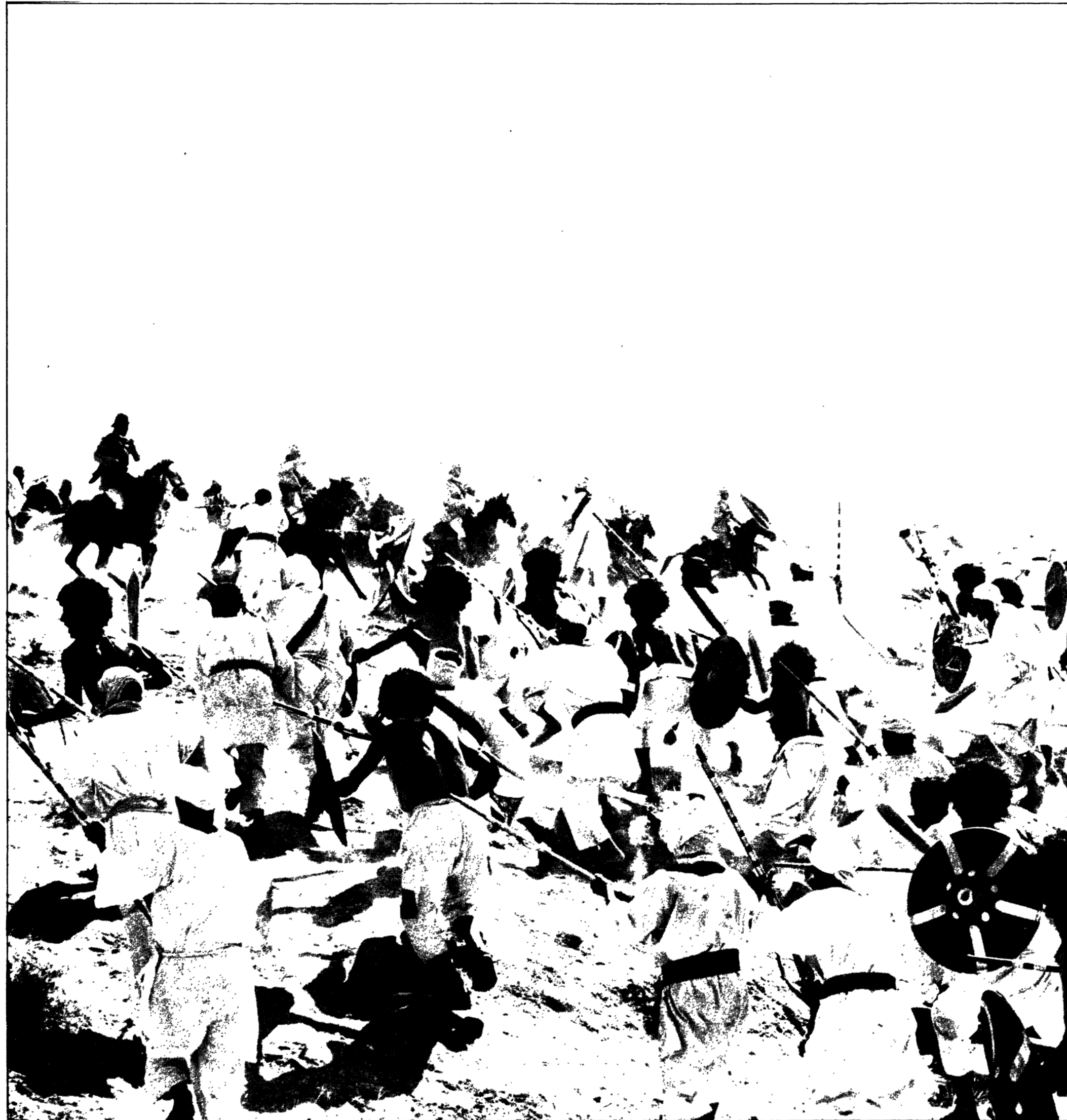
Young Winston was no ordinary guards officer. His family connections spread throughout the ruling class and he used them to move around the world and to advance his career at high speed. Thus he was able to see his first military action, not in the British army at all, but with the Spanish army struggling to suppress a revolt in Cuba. (The Ambassador in Madrid fiddled his papers.)

## NOSTALGIA

Then in 1896 he sailed with his regiment to India. There he played polo, drank whisky and began to prepare himself to become a war correspondent. In 1930 he looked back on that time with nostalgia:

"If you liked to be waited on and relieved of home worries, India 30 years ago was perfection. All you had to do was to hand over your uniform and clothes to the dressing boy, your ponies to the syce, and your money to the butler, and you need never trouble any more... They would devote their lives to their task. For a humble wage, justice, and a few kind words, there was nothing they would not do."

No wonder he later saw India as 'the brightest jewel in the English crown'.



Left: Crushing of the Sudan revolt. Above: Churchill in India 1896 with the 4th Hussars. Below left: Lord Randolph Churchill. Centre: His mother. Right: Kitchener.



Young Winston toyed with the idea of joining the Turkish armies then oppressing the Greeks, not as a soldier, but, as he put it, to 'merely see the fun and tell the tale'. Instead, however, he decided to get himself sent to fight the revolt of tribesmen on the North-West Frontier.

To achieve this, strings had to be pulled once more. As on other occasions, his mother's influence was of great assistance here. We are not interested in precisely how this influence was exerted: reports indicate that it was not entirely political. Anyway, Churchill reports:

"Meanwhile I had been commissioned as war-correspondent by the 'Pioneer' newspaper, and my mother had also arranged in England that my letters should be simultaneously published in the 'Daily Telegraph'."

From his experience of action on the borders of Afghanistan arose Churchill's first book, 'The Malakand



Carl Foreman

Field Force'. He describes the fighting with gusto, and makes no bones about the methods used:

"In official parlance the burning of villages is usually expressed euphemistically as "So many villages were visited and punished", or, again, "The fortifications were demolished". I do not believe in all this circumlocution. The lack of confidence in the good sense of the British democracy, which the Indian government displays, is one of its least

admirable characteristics. The people of our islands only require to have the matter put fairly before them to arrive at sound, practical conclusions. If this were not so, we should not occupy our present position in the world."

The upholder of such barbarism does not blush to refer to the Afliquis as 'savages' elsewhere in his book.

Churchill's first book already exhibits all the characteristics of his life's work. It shows complete and unquestioning confidence in the right and duty of British capital to rule the world. It never so much as mentions the existence of workers or peasants, except as passive instruments of that right. And it puts in the foreground of the picture one dominating figure: Winston Spencer Churchill.

Churchill's next move was to get himself attached to the army of Lord Kitchener, preparing to crush the revolt in the Sudan. This took a great deal of effort, especially on the

part of his mother.

Hostility among his colleagues was now quite vocal. As he says in 'My Early Life':

"They began to say things like this: "Who the devil is this fellow? How has he managed to get to these different campaigns? Why should he write for the papers and serve as an officer at the same time? ... Why should Generals show him favour?"

Apart from this, Kitchener himself was extremely hostile to Churchill, an enmity which he never lost. But the intervention of the Prime Minister put everything right, and Winston was able to participate happily in the crushing of thousands of Sudanese peasants.

At Omdurman, Churchill took part in what was to be the last cavalry charge of the British army. (Publicity for the film shows Churchill at the gallop, sword in hand. 'My early Life' explains how a dislocated shoulder made it necessary for him to sheath his

sword and rely on his Mauser automatic. But the sword is much more glamorous.)

Now Churchill was ready for his next step:

"I therefore planned the sequence of the year 1899 as follows: To return to India and win the Polo Tournament; to send in my papers and leave the army; to relieve my mother from paying my allowance; to write my new book and the letters to the 'Pioneer'; and to look out for a chance of entering parliament."

His book on the Sudan, 'The River War', came out at the end of 1899.

Earlier in that year he had fixed himself up with a by-election candidature at Oldham. His fellow candidate was a 'Tory working-man', the secretary of the Operative Spinners Association, a believer in 'Tory Socialism'. Their Liberal opponents were two eminent mill-owners.

Of course, Churchill lost the election. Something more was needed before he could

make his mark in the political life of capitalism.

His chance came with the outbreak of the Boer War. Appointed by the 'Morning Post' as its principal war-correspondent, Churchill sailed for Capetown as British imperialism embarked on its major effort to secure complete control of the wealth of Africa.

Churchill's exploits in this war — his rescue of the armoured train, his capture by Botha, his escape and his return as a soldier are all well-known. After all, did he not write about them at length himself?

## GLAMOUR

They provided him with material for two more books. And they made him well-known enough to enable him to sweep into parliament on the wave of jingoism at the 'Khaki Election' of 1900.

So Churchill's plans had worked out: from the army to journalism; self-advertisement

through books, as a stepping-stone to a career in parliament.

In 'My Early Life', he quotes several articles of the time which criticized sharply this path to the top, and even cast doubt on the truth of some of his statements. Later work shows that he always wrote not about what actually happened, but about the course of events he would have liked to have happened, history as it should have been — from the Churchillian standpoint.

Behind the glamour and heroism of popular legend, the romantic picture presented by Churchill himself and transferred to celluloid by Attenborough and Foreman, stands the real Young Winston.

Bullying his way into every imperialist adventure he could find, pushing himself unashamedly into the limelight, intent on becoming a leader of his class, Churchill as a young man was the precursor of the capitalist statesman of later years.

This was the apprenticeship

of the man who sent the troops against miners in 1910, who threw millions into the imperialist slaughter, who desperately fought to smash the October Revolution, who worked day and night to defeat the trade union movement in 1926, and who, when his former friend Mussolini and his ally Hitler came into conflict with British imperialism, drove the workers he had fought at home into a second imperialist war.

Even before that war was finished, Churchill had approved the atom bombing of Japan, and was already getting ready for World War III.

Even Stalin could not reconcile him to the continued existence of the Soviet Union.

The middle-class Tories will, no doubt, cheer their hero once again. But his world is disintegrating, the social order he upheld is in its death agony. The working class he so hated and despised is moving forward to sweep it away forever.

# LET HISTORY JUDGE STALINISM

The book by Roy Medvedev translated as 'Let History Judge: the Origins and Consequences of Stalinism' (Macmillan £5.75) is the first independent attempt in the Soviet Union to understand the Stalin era which has come out of that country. It is a damning indictment of Stalin and Stalinism which confirms everything which Trotsky wrote about the bureaucratic degeneration of the first workers' state. From the great tension under which it is written, its passion drawn from the sufferings of millions of people, is also a testimony to the fact that the conquests of the October 1917 Revolution have not been destroyed. Medvedev writes as a communist intellectual, an oppositionist who is harassed and persecuted for his struggle to tell the truth as he sees it. His book has great merits and deserves a careful study both for what it provides in the way of corroboration for the Trotskyist analysis and what it leaves out. On some crucial questions the book is fundamentally wrong. This series of articles submit Medvedev's book to detailed scrutiny with the aim of pursuing the struggle against Stalinism to the end. It will deal in particular with his errors and omissions and point the way for a more rounded analysis which must begin with the works of Trotsky which are cited in the footnotes.

BY TOM KEMP PART 5

## THE GREAT PURGE: REASONS AND RESULTS

The full and frank exposure of Stalin's crimes, coming as it does from inside the Soviet Union, is valuable corroboration of what, outside it, can be found in a host of publications.

Medvedev's position is limited, however, by his failure to explain in Marxist terms the social sources of Stalin's power and the cult with which it was surrounded.

He dismisses implicitly the theory that it was an inevitable outcome of Leninism or Bolshevism. Lenin would never have permitted such a cult of his own person as grew up posthumously under Stalin's direction.

In fact, Stalinism was the direct antithesis of Leninism and could arise only by destroying the Bolshevik party and physically liquidating the Opposition which continued its traditions.

But what of the Communist Party, of which Medvedev, to all intents and purposes, remains a loyal member? He has to admit: 'The Party directly or indirectly participated in these events, and for many of its members it was hard to abstract Stalin's crimes and mistakes from the general flow.'

It is probable, as Medvedev suggests, that a considerable number of Party leaders at the 17th Congress in 1934 were prepared to depose Stalin and replace him by Sergei Kirov. This would explain the assassination of Kirov on Stalin's orders, as hinted at by Khrushchev at the 22nd Congress, as well as the high mortality rate among the delegates in the following years!

From 1934 the purges began in earnest, starting with Stalin's former political opponents and critics, even those who had recanted. A series of show trials was held in Moscow, starting with former Trotskyists and Zinovievists. The sinister Yagoda who had organized the first show trial was himself arrested and replaced by Yezhov as head of the NKVD.<sup>1</sup>

Longtime supporters of

Stalin have found it difficult to admit that the trials were frame-ups from start to finish. Medvedev quotes from British Stalinist R. Palme Dutt who said 'the final verdict on the trials, whose validity is disputed by many living, will rest with future historians'. Dutt, one of the leading apologists for Stalinism and all its crimes, is treated with the contempt he deserves:

'The truth is', says Medvedev, 'that all these trials were completely fraudulent. They were a monstrous theatrical presentation that had to be rehearsed many times before it could be shown to spectators.'

Trotsky and his supporters argued along these lines from the beginning.<sup>2</sup> The lies and contradictions of every trial were exposed by them when not only the Stalinist press in every country but a multitude of bourgeois organs accepted the veracity of the testimony of the accused, which today everyone knows was extracted by the most brutal physical and mental tortures.

Nevertheless, the trials and the purges, which cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of communists, are still treated with an embarrassed silence in the press of the Soviet Union and in the international communist movement. It is true that all the defendants in the trials have been rehabilitated as citizens and some restored to Party membership — posthumously, of course—but the verdicts have not been formally annulled. Nor have the slanders against Leon Trotsky himself—the principal accused—been retracted.

Medvedev also reports: 'Not one of the books on Party history that appeared after the 20th Party Congress mentioned the trials of the 1930s. Neither do the 1960 and 1961 textbooks on Party history. The 1962 textbook has two lines on the subject: "The repression of the 1930s was begun against former ideological opponents, who were represented as agents of imperialism and foreign intelligence services".'

The 1964 'History of the USSR' prepared by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences was a little more explicit, but not much. Basically, the bureaucracy is afraid of an honest reckoning with the past which would reveal its own origins and the complicity of its acknowledged leaders with the crimes of the Stalin era.

It cannot permit the story of the Opposition's struggle to be honestly reported. It cannot allow all the documents to be read. It cannot make accessible to historians all the secret files, if any survive.



Above: Sergei M. Kirov. Assassinated on December 1, 1934 at Stalin's orders

It prefers to hold the keys to the archives for fear that the secret of its own social nature will be revealed. The same cringing fear of a reckoning with the past prevails in the leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain and in the other communist parties.

'It was obvious,' concludes Medvedev, 'that Stalin's extermination of former oppositionists was not accidental; it was a premeditated, planned political act.'

Revenge, he believes, was the primary motive. By creating a constant state of emergency through terror Stalin was able to concentrate more power in his hands. The logic of the situation led him to carry that terror into the ranks of his own, ostensibly, loyal supporters.

In its final paroxysm in 1937-1939 the terror cut deeply into the highest Party and state circles as well as into the high command of the armed forces. The list of Stalin's victims is a cross-section of the bureaucracy as a whole. Dozens of prisons and camps had to be opened, many in the most desolate spots in the Soviet Union. The execution squads of the NKVD were never idle. This was the greatest repression in history.

'In 1936-1939, on the most cautious estimates, 4 to 5 million people were subjected to repression for political reasons. At least 400,000 to 500,000 of them — above all the high officials — were summarily shot; the rest were given long terms of confinement. In 1937-1938 there were days when up to a thousand people were shot in Moscow alone. These were not streams, these were rivers of blood, the blood of honest Soviet people. The simple truth must be stated: not one of the tyrants and despots of the past persecuted and destroyed so many of his compatriots.'

This is Medvedev echoing what the Trotskyists said about the Moscow Trials and the purges which followed them—

at the time. All these events were known to many people in the communist parties outside the Soviet Union who not only kept silent, but made themselves the apologists for Stalin and his crimes. Most of them have remained silent to this day. What do they have to say in the light of Medvedev's book?

### Soviet state brought to the brink of disaster

As the whirlwind of repression swept through Soviet society, causing innumerable human tragedies and creating a national trauma which has not yet been healed, it also brought the Soviet state to the brink of disaster. No shred of credence now clings to the theory that the purges were necessary in order to sweep out dangerous opponents, incompetents or fainthearts.

Stalin's own claim that the class struggle intensified in the process of building socialism, like all his theories, was intended to cover up his own arbitrary rule and give some semblance of justification for what was otherwise inexcusable. That some honest people in the communist parties accepted this theory makes it all the more tragic and discreditable, makes it all the more necessary that the truth should be told and admitted.

There are now many works by those of Stalin's victims who by some chance were able to escape, or who lived through the horrors of the prisons and camps. They add their testimony to the damning picture of his tyranny. What remains puzzling to most of them, and to those historians who have examined the development of Stalin's regime as a whole, is why these things happened.

After Khrushchev's 'secret' speech to the 20th Congress in 1956, this question had to be faced in the Soviet Union under conditions where the bureaucracy, which owed its position to Stalin, now had to

disavow the departed boss without undermining their own position. It tried first to get out of this dilemma by blaming Stalin entirely for the repressions of the 1930s while maintaining that he had been right in his struggle against the Opposition in the 1920s.

While a certain amount of leeway existed for criticism of the purges and the rehabilitation of Stalin's victims, it was never allowed to go beyond certain limits and it had to be carried on within the fiction of the 'cult of personality'. That is to say, all the crimes and repressions were blamed onto Stalin and the search for reasons why Stalinism had been permitted to arise on the soil of a workers' state was prohibited.

In 1956 and the following years, when a certain amount of discussion of the Stalin period had to be accepted, the bureaucracy fell back on a banal and idealist explanation. The crimes and 'excesses' were all the fault of Stalin and of the 'personality cult'.

The bureaucracy adopted a historical method in dealing with its own past which was completely opposed to the materialist conception of history. To search for the material basis of Stalin's power, as they well knew, would involve an investigation of their own past. This they could not permit because it would undermine their authority, call into question their power and privileges.

The events in Hungary in 1956, which raised the spectre of the political overthrow of the bureaucracy, were a terrible warning. The 'de-Stalinization' campaign was kept within very strict limits. Stalin was simply written out of the official histories. All the great questions of the Stalin era remained unanswered.

One wing in the bureaucracy was opposed to Khrushchev's 'revelations' and favoured a rehabilitation of Stalin. In the main, by the 1960s, an uneasy equilibrium reigned. But the history of the Stalin era was



# WORKERS NOTEBOOK



Above: Genrikh Yagoda who organized the first show trial, was himself arrested, and replaced

still enveloped in a cloud of lies and dishonesty.

Medvedev's book, which was probably not alone in this, sought to pierce this cloud and bring the truth to light. A thirst for truth about the past was evident in many sections of Soviet society, but especially among the youth and among sections of the intelligentsia who formed a new Marxist opposition around courageous individuals like Piotr Yakir, General Grigorenko and the Medvedev brothers.

An unhealthy and embarrassed silence about the past prevails not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the communist parties generally, where it is even more shamefaced and cowardly since there is no risk from the NKVD, no danger of being locked up in a psychiatric ward.

But to investigate the past means, as we have seen, to deal honestly with the struggles of the Left Opposition, the only group which put forward an alternative to Stalin's course; to renounce the theory of 'socialism in one country', and to seek the material roots of Stalinism in the bureaucratic degeneration which set in after Lenin's death. In other words, it means the vindication of Trotsky's struggle to maintain the continuity of Bolshevism and of his analysis of the rise of the bureaucracy.

Stalin's rise to power co-



Yezhov: Who replaced Yagoda

incided with the emergence of the bureaucracy as a privileged caste in the first workers' state in which the revolution was isolated from the world proletariat in an underdeveloped, predominantly peasant and petty-bourgeois country.

Of all the Party leaders, the bureaucracy chose Stalin as the one who could deal most effectively with its enemies and guarantee its privileges. And Stalin's control of the instruments of repression rallied to his side the careerists and place-seekers intent upon power, privilege and income.

Stalin insisted upon adulation and his supporters gave it to him in full measure. But, as Trotsky pointed out:

'The increasingly insistent deification of Stalin is, with all its elements of caricature, a necessary element of the regime. The bureaucracy has need of an inviolable super-arbiter, a first consul if not an emperor, and it raises upon its shoulders him who best responds to its claim for lordship. That "strength of character" of the leader which so enraptures the literary dilettantes of the West, is, in reality, the sum total of the collective pressure of a caste which will stop at nothing in defence of its position. Each of them at his post is thinking *l'etat—c'est moi*. In Stalin each one easily finds himself. But Stalin always finds in each one a small part of his own spirit. Stalin is the personification of the bureaucracy. That is the substance of his political personality.'

Trotsky saw Stalinism as a variety of Bonapartism on 'the basis of a workers' state torn by the antagonism between an organized and armed Soviet aristocracy and the unarmed toiling masses'. It owed its birth, he insisted, to the belatedness of the world revolution—an essential point which Medvedev completely fails to grasp.

'In turning its back on the international revolution, the

Stalinist bureaucracy was, from its own point of view, right. It was merely obeying the voice of self-preservation.'

A success for the revolutionary working class at any time during the 1920s and 1930s, by turning the tide of defeats which had succoured the bureaucracy and opening the road for the Soviet proletariat to unseat the bureaucracy, would have been fatal for Stalin and in his own empirical fashion he knew it.

From 1933 Stalinism, without doubt, had become a consciously counter-revolutionary force, intent only upon maintaining its power in the Soviet Union. 'Socialism in one country' expressed its credo: but it was not socialism which it desired.

As an excrescence on a workers' state which had been brought into existence by a proletarian revolution, the roots of the bureaucracy were to be found in the nationalized property relations. Reactionary in its foreign policy, despotic at home, the Stalinist bureaucracy nonetheless, could not restore capitalism or establish a new form of exploiting society and establish itself as a new ruling class.

Defence of the conquests of October, therefore, requires an unremitting struggle against Stalinism, for the political revolution and the overthrow of the bureaucracy. Medvedev implicitly rejects this programme. He wants to find a way of reform; but because he rejects the Trotskyist alternative—the only alternative other than a return to capitalism—he cannot get to the bottom of Stalinism.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

<sup>1</sup>On the trials see 'Moscow Trials Anthology', and Max Shachtman, 'Behind the Moscow Trials'. New Park Publications.

<sup>2</sup>See M. Shachtman, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup>L. Trotsky, 'The Revolution Betrayed', p. 277.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 278-279.

## REPEAT

The 'Morning Star' boasted the other day that Mrs Irene Swan, chairman of the Communist Party, has been elected a delegate from the National Union of Public Employees to the TUC in September.

Here's a piece of last week's history involving Mrs Swan which is worth recording.

At a meeting of the Edinburgh and District Trades Council the executive committee moved a motion calling for the immediate release of the five jailed dockers and for a step-up in the fight to defeat the Industrial Relations Act, with industrial action 'if necessary'.

During the discussions on the motion, and in reply to the contribution made by an ASTMS delegate who clearly exposed the treacherous role the TUC leadership was playing, Mrs Swan stated that 'it was possible for the General Council of the TUC to lead the trade unions in a General Strike successfully...

'After all you cannot compare them with the General Council of 1926. They are not so right wing... We should have full confidence in the TUC leadership because of the powerful left-wing element it contains,' she said.

She then went on to say that 'the intervention of the Official Solicitor was in itself a victory for the trade union movement... The Tory government has retreated, and can be made to retreat further by the repeal of the Industrial Relations Act'.

This sounds very much like the 'All power to the General Council' line of the Stalinists in 1926. And we all know where that led...

## RUSH

The prospect of last Monday's one-day General Strike had an electric effect in some ruling-class circles. Harold Evans, editor of the 'Sunday Times' felt sufficiently concerned to bring his holiday forward four days and leave the country. Where did he rush off to? Greece, of course.

## POSH

We reported the other day the handsome donation of £2,500 by the Tory government to International Social Services of Great Britain, a very posh charity which is engaged in work among immigrants.

We noted that president of the charity committee is none other than Beryl Maudling, wife of the ex-Home Secretary.

The list of donors to the charity includes some other interesting people. They include Kleinwort Benson Limited, the merchant bankers, and the Sir Cyril Kleinwort Charitable Settlement.

Before the General Election of 1970 a director of Kleinwort Benson was Mr Reginald Maudling.

## FINGER

Who said the noble savages of the Chelsea set were dead? At a monstrous party the other evening the twits and chinless wonders of the ruling class threw buns at each other and poured champagne down the front of the debs' dresses in a riot of fun-making. Cleaning lady who turned up the next morning found a human finger among the debris.

## BOOKS



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# New set of purge trials open in Prague

BY JOHN SPENCER

THREE prominent opponents of the Warsaw Pact occupation went on trial in Prague, Czechoslovakia, yesterday charged with subversion.

Milan Huebl, the former rector of the Communist Party college and a one-time Central Committee member was in the dock alongside Karel Kyncl, a former television commentator and Karel Bartosek, a historian.

This is the seventh trial of Czechoslovak oppositionists in the last fortnight; 28 people, all of them supporters of former party secretary Alexandr Dubcek, have already been sentenced to jail terms.

The trials, aimed at crushing the Dubcek tendency, have been under preparation for months. They have now provoked a reaction from the French and British Communist Parties.

The carefully-worded statement given to reporters on Friday by Georges Marchais, the French party's general secretary, avoids condemning the trials outright.

Marchais recalled the pledge made last February to French CP leader Roland Leroy by the Czech party general secretary Gustav Husak:

'No one has been or will be tried or arrested for their opinions. Socialist legality will be scrupulously respected.'

He added that the Czechoslovak CP had informed the French that 70 people had been arrested, more than half of whom were released, some only hours after arrest. Legal action was taken against 32 people of whom some were freed and others sentenced to prison terms. Eleven are still awaiting trial.

He went on: 'When forces hostile to socialism resort to subversion, violence or sabotage, it is just and necessary that these forces be punished according to the law.'

'But according to information which we have at our disposal, these trials are not aimed against such activities.'

'When it is a matter of political or ideological opposition, one should move forward by means of an intense political struggle.'

Marchais' statement begs far more questions than it answers. What is the 'information which we have at our disposal' and if it does show that the trials are not aimed at 'subversion, violence or sabotage' why does the CP not condemn the trials outright?

The 28 people condemned to prison sentences over the past two weeks were all tried on charges of subversion. Marchais says the trials are 'not aimed against such activities'.

Then why does he not come out openly and denounce the trials for what they are: crude frame-ups organized for the purpose of crushing the continued opposition to the Warsaw Pact occupation?

Like the rest of the French Communist Party leadership, Marchais was trained under Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos as an unregenerate Stalinist. During the Czech purge trials of 1951 the French Communist Party virulently denounced Rudolf Slansky and the other victims of Stalinist frame-ups.

The Warsaw Pact invasion 'opposed' by CPs—in words only



## British and French CPs avoid outright condemnation

Then the French Stalinist leaders waged a relentless campaign to besmirch the defendants' names, and there was no slander too dirty for them to throw at these victims of Stalinism.

Slansky and his fellow defendants had spied for almost every conceivable imperialist intelligence service. They had betrayed their closest comrades. They were traitors, fascists and saboteurs, according to the French CP.

Almost exactly the same words were used by the British Communist Party. Monty Johnstone, now the party's attempt at a 'human face', wrote at the time:

'Slansky, former general secretary of the Czech CP, and 13 associates were found guilty of spying and sabotage for the US and its satellites. Many were shown to have acted as spies in the labour movement since pre-war days... Such activities can and must be rooted out... through the vigilance of the workers the movement is rendered stronger and healthier.' ('Challenge', January 10, 1953.)

Then the Communist Party showed no reluctance to swallow the Kremlin's lies. Now, when it is a question of exposing them, the British CP is, to put it mildly, less than forthcoming.

In a statement buried on page five of the 'Morning Star', Reuben Falber of the CP's national executive, wrote:

'There is absence of adequate official information (!) but according to reports most of the

defendants appear to have been accused of producing and distributing leaflets on people's rights in last autumn's elections. If the reports on the nature of these charges are true, the proceedings and sentences are greatly to be deplored.'

Falber's conditional phrases have the same mealy-mouthed purpose as Marchais. Like the French Communist Party, the British Stalinists protested weakly over the invasion in order to carry favour with the liberal middle class.

Then they kept a very 'low profile' while, under Soviet advice, the Soviet puppets in Czechoslovakia, led by Gustav Husak with Kremlin advisers in the background, prepared the way for the current show trials.

No protest was heard from either Party when the defendants in the present trials were arrested. Nor did they raise any objection to an earlier specifically anti-Trotskyist trial, which resulted in prison sentences.

They were silent also when the packed congress of the Czechoslovak trade union organization deprived the workers of the rights they had won under the Alexandr Dubcek administration—the right to strike to elect workers' committees and to form tendencies within the unions.

They watched in silence as Husak cleared the way to try the former liberal bureaucrats of the Dubcek era, many of them personally known to the British and French CP chiefs.

Their statements on the trials are a contemptible evasion and are designed, like the original protests over the Soviet invasion, to allow unimpeded progress towards better relations with the middle class.

For the French Communist Party leaders this means preserving their relationship with Francois Mitterrand, leader of the Socialist Party and joint signatory of the reactionary 'common programme' of Popular Frontism with the CP.

The British CP leaders, who are also wooing the middle class, make their miserable complaints about the trial for the same reason.

Their despicable record since the invasion of Czechoslovakia is proof of the worthless character of Falber's protest.

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# TV

## BBC 1

9.45 Joe. 10.00 Casey Jones. 10.25 Sounding out. 10.50 Adventures of Tintin. 10.55 Magic roundabout. 11.00 Cricket. England v Australia. 1.30 Trumpton. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 1.55 Gwlad a thref. 2.20 Cricket. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Vision on. 5.20 Scooby-Doo where are you. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News and weather.

**6.00 NATIONWIDE.**

**6.45 TELEVISION TOP OF THE FORM.**

**7.05 TOM AND JERRY.**

**7.15 Z CARS.** Loyalties.

**7.40 FILM: 'THE GREAT LOVER.'** Bob Hope.

**9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.**

**9.25 DOCUMENTARY: THE CLANS.** The Truth Behind the Tartan—What price the Clan in Scotland today?

**10.45 A LASTING JOY.** Poetry by C. Day Lewis.

**11.15 CRADLE OF ENGLAND.** The Taming of the Land.

**11.45 LATE NIGHT NEWS.**

**11.50 Weather.**

## BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 4.30-6.05 Cricket. England v Australia.

**6.35 OPEN UNIVERSITY.**

**7.30 NEWSROOM and weather.**

**8.00 THE NEW MASTERS.** Le Corbusier.

**8.50 COLLECTOR'S WORLD.**

**9.25 THE SEXTET.** Blur and Blank via Clockheaton.

**10.40 CRICKET.** England v Australia.

**11.10 NEWS ON 2 and weather.**

**11.15 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.** Interview with Lady Betjeman.

## ITV

11.10 Outlook. 12.25 Women. 12.50 Cook Book. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.25 Felix. 1.40 Batman. 2.05 Castle Haven. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Let's Face It. 3.45 Danger Man. 4.40 Yak. 4.55 Showtime. 5.20 Full House. 5.50 News.

**6.00 THE DAVE CASH RADIO PROGRAMME.**

**6.25 CARTOON TIME.**

**6.40 CROSSROADS.**

**7.05 QUEENIE'S CASTLE.** (New Series.) Comedy with Diana Dors.

**7.35 FILM: 'THE EYES OF CHARLES SAND.'** Peter Haskell, Barbara Rush, Bradford Dillman. Supernatural thriller.

**9.00 CRIME OF PASSION.** Baptiste.

**10.00 NEWS.**

**10.30 RETURN TO LEEDS.** John Wells and John Bird show how a television company puts its programmes together.

**11.00 CHILDREN TO CHILDREN.** (New Series.) Programmes by the Inter-Nation Television Trust.

**11.30 THE BISHOPS.**

## REGIONAL TV

**CHANNEL:** 2.25 Cricket. 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Odd couple. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'East of Sudan'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Actualités et projections. 11.15 Gazette. 11.20 Weather.

**WESTWARD.** As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 10.59 News. 11.02 Interviews. 11.22 Faith for life.

**SOUTHERN:** 12.55 News. 1.00 Jobs. 1.25 Dick Van Dyke. 1.50 Kitchen. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Saint. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Torchy. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by



David Halliwell's 'Blur and Blank via Clockheaton' is tonight's play in BBC 2's 'Sextet' series. Denholm Elliott (centre) plays Francis Ramsdale and Richard Vernon and Ruth Dunning his father and mother.

day. 6.30 Queenie's castle. 7.00 Film: 'Tarzan and the Slave Girl'. 8.30 Dear father. 9.00 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Odd couple. 11.40 Farm progress. 12.10 Weather. Guideline.

**HTV:** 2.30 Cricket. 3.45 Let's face it. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report west. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Odd couple. 7.10 Tarzan. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Lindisfarne. 11.30 Collecting on a shoestring. 12.00 Weather.

**HTV Wales as above except:** 4.15 Miri Mawr. 6.01 Y Dydd. 11.30 Sion a Sian. 12.00 Weather.

**HTV West as above except:** 6.18 Report West.

**HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV Wales plus:** 10.30 Dan Sylw.

**ANGLIA:** 10.55 Cricket. 1.40 Remember. 2.05 Mr. Piper. 2.30 London. 3.15 Junkin. 3.45 Women. 4.10 News. 4.15 Felix. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35

Crossroads. 7.00 McMillan and wife. 8.30 Queenie's Castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Jesse James.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 3.10 Good afternoon. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Simon Locke. 4.40 Rupert Bear. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'A Ticket to Tomahawk'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Who do you do? 11.30 Jimmy Stewart. 12.00 Stories.

**ULSTER:** 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Lidsville. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'The Brain Machine'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Shirley's world.

**YORKSHIRE:** 10.55, 3.40 Cricket. 1.35 Cartoon. 1.45 Scotland yard mysteries. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Teesside Eisteddfod. 4.10 Calendar. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.05 Hogan's heroes. 6.35 Film: '...San ...Antonio'. 8.30

Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Alan Browning. 11.30 Spyforce. 12.25 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 10.55, 2.05 Cricket. 1.35 Kreskin. 4.10 News. Peyton place. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. Put in in writing. 6.25 Dr Locke. 7.00 Film: 'The Outcasts of Poker Flat'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Felony squad.

**SCOTTISH:** 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Animaland. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Hogan's heroes. 6.45 Film: 'The Young Doctors'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Diversions.

**GRAMPIAN:** 3.37 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Yak. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Jim MacLeod. 6.35 Crossroads. 6.55 Film: 'A Place to Go'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Western mountains. 11.15 Epilogue.

## Kodak to discuss union recognition

KODAK is expected to tell the TUC this week whether it will recognize affiliated unions with members at its plants.

Last Thursday directors of the multi-million-pound photographic giant met members of the TUC Organization Committee to discuss the issues involved.

The company claims to have completed a membership audit of two non-TUC bodies who have registered under the Industrial Relations Act, the Union of

Kodak Workers and the Kodak Senior Staff Association. Both the British firm and its US parent have a history of hostility to independent union organization.

But Ken Roberts, Kodak organizer for the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians, said yesterday that recruitment on behalf of the TUC unions was making 'big headway' despite the company's attitude.

## Dearer home loans

HOME LOANS are almost certain to become dearer within the next two weeks—the only real question being how much the rise in lending rates will be.

A special meeting of the Building Societies Association has been called for August 9, a month when the association never normally meets.

The meeting was announced by BSA chairman Sir Stanley Morton at a press conference to dis-

cuss the movement's six-monthly figures.

Estimates of the expected rise range from  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent to 1 per cent. Correspondingly, depositors will receive more. The figures for the last quarter show that societies took in a record £1,433m in funds, while withdrawals were also at a record level of £859m. This meant that net receipts for the quarter were down £6m on the previous quarter, at £574m.

## Tinplate men return

FULL PRODUCTION was resumed yesterday at the Trostre Tinplate works, Lanelli, after a four-week strike by 1,300 white-collar workers against an arbitrated pay award.

The strike led to the laying-off of 4,100 production workers at Trostre and Velindre tinplate works, near Swansea, for a month.

The formula which led to the return was being presented to representatives of the white-collar workers at the Ebbw Vale works, where members of the Association of Clerical, Technical and Supervisory staffs have decided to strike from August 6. It is expected that they will follow the line taken by their West Wales colleagues and accept it.

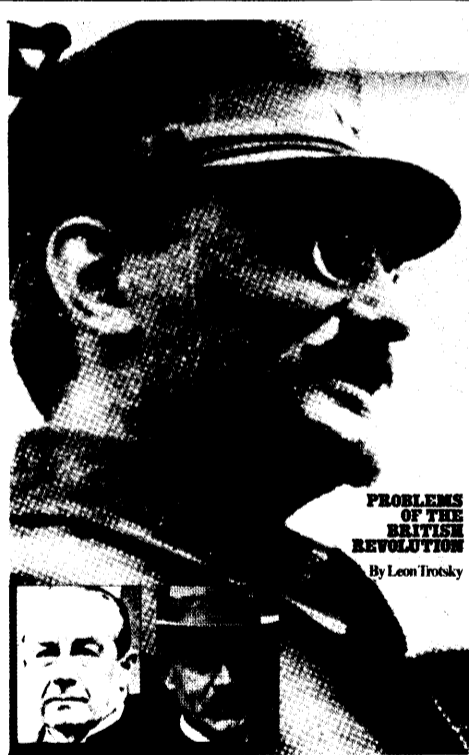
## Gems probe by Yard

SCOTLAND YARD is investigating the British end of a gems and currency smuggling racket from Sri Lanka—formerly Ceylon—and will shortly be submitting its report to the island's High Commissioner in London.

Large quantities of gems have been smuggled out of the island for sale in the Middle East,

Europe and America, and large amounts of currency have been exported illegally.

Detective Inspector Peter Griggs and two other Yard officers began an investigation into the United Kingdom end of the operation six months ago at the request of the High Commissioner.



## Trotsky's reply to critics of 'Where is Britain Going?'

This collection of articles was penned by Trotsky in reply to various critics of his then recently-published 'Where is Britain Going?' They appeared in the Soviet press of the time and constitute a necessary corollary and sequel to that work. Trotsky here dissects the arguments of all the brands of opponents of Marxism: reformist, centrist, pacifist, Fabian, trade-union bureaucrat and by implication, its Russian counterpart, the nascent Soviet bureaucrat. Here also he unravels many of the knotty problems facing the infant Communist Party developing a strategy for power in the revolutionary epoch.

64 pp price 35p (postage extra)

## What you've been waiting for: a new impression of 'The New Course'

A salient work of Trotsky treating with his struggle against the rising Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. Written in the aftermath of the civil war and in the period of the New Economic Policy when, despite all the conservative pressures generated within the Soviet Union, there still seemed every chance of curbing and overcoming this bureaucracy. This book makes a bridge between Lenin's deathbed struggles against Stalinism and the later founding of the Joint Left Opposition.

108 pp price 65p (postage extra)



The New Course 1923  
BY LEON TROTSKY

## Workers stop against Tory Act

BY WORKERS PRESS REPORTERS

FIVE THOUSAND Birmingham trade unionists marched through the city yesterday chanting 'Heath out!' and 'General Strike! Tories out!'

They were taking part—with several thousand other trade unionists in the area—in a token strike against the Act called by the city's trades council.

Car production, public transport and beer supplies were all stopped by the strike.

The chanting was led by women and girl workers on strike for the day from SU Carburettor, a British Leyland subsidiary.

They were joined by busmen and carworkers from Leyland's Austin-Morris factory at Longbridge, who had earlier walked out stopping engine and gearbox production and the assembly of 1100 and 1300 cars.

At a rally in Calthorpe Park, trades council secretary Dave Perris said there was strong feeling for a one-day national strike.

Emphasized Martin Kavanagh, trades council vice-president:

'This Birmingham demonstration today should give a lead to the General Council of the TUC that we are asking for a national strike on the issue.'

Bus services in Birmingham and parts of the Black Country, were disrupted as some crews answered the trades council call. No buses were running in West Bromwich and many were off the road at Wolverhampton.

Beer supplies to pubs and clubs were delayed when nearly 100 Ansells Brewery workers came out on a one-day strike.

IN LEEDS, about 2,000 members of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers staged a one-day strike at Yorkshire Imperial Metals factory.

A local union spokesman said: 'The strike is in protest at the Industrial Relations Act. We feel it should be repealed.'

Production was stopped although supervisors and white collar workers were working normally.

AT BRIGHTON, a rally to protest against the Industrial Relations Act was attended by about 150 trade unionists. They marched to Brighton Pavilion Conservative Association offices and handed in a petition.

Officials of Brighton and Hove Trades Council, who organized the rally had expected many more to attend. They blamed the TUC's action in calling off a national one-day strike for the small turnout.

## WEATHER

EASTERN Scotland and England will be cloudy with rain at times but there will also be some bright periods.

The Midlands and central southern England will be dry and sunny at first, but occasional showers will develop by afternoon.

Northern and western Scotland, Northern Ireland, north west and south west England and Wales will have showers and sunny intervals. The showers may be heavy at times in the north west.

It will be mostly rather cool but temperatures will reach normal in the Midlands and central southern England.

**Outlook for Wednesday and Thursday:** Unsettled in east. Sunny intervals in west. Rather cool, becoming near normal in west.

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# Dock jobs: A 'once-and-for-all' fight

THE JONES-ALDINGTON committee had to come forward with concrete recommendations which could be enforced, the London ports shop stewards' committee said yesterday.

Bill Chapman, Royal group steward, speaking on behalf of the committee, told Workers Press:

'We want the right to the work that we have always claimed as dock work. The non-registered ports also have to be brought within the National Dock Labour Scheme.'

'As to the temporary unattached register it should be as Devlin report envisaged it—it was meant to be what it says, temporary. But it has become a

permanent pool with 1,700 men on it. The employers have obviously broken their agreement.'

Both Bill Chapman and Colin Ross, the committee's other spokesman, thought shop stewards' representation on the Jones - Aldington committee would get the guarantees they were after.

'This is a once-and-for-all fight,' Colin Ross told me, 'And it is one we will win.'

'Since 1967,' added Bill Chap-

man, 'we've pursued the container problem through the constitutional machinery and it got us nowhere.'

Even if the guarantee could be obtained, would they prevent the thousands of redundancies dock employers were planning over the next few years?

Bill Chapman said: 'If we regain the traditional work we have lost this won't happen. There will still be jobs for the sacked men within the industry.'

What about the lorry drivers'

fears that they would find themselves on the dole because of the dockers' action?

Colin Ross said: 'We are after no lorry drivers' jobs, no fellow workers' jobs. We only want the work that was originally ours, such as stuffing and stripping of containers, warehousing and so on.'

Nationalization of the docks is one of the nine points of policy originally adopted by the national shop stewards' committee. Was this the only answer and if so how could it be implemented?

'The nine points will be pursued. We have never deviated from the policy of nationalization,' said Colin Ross.

The shop stewards' committee thanked trade unionists for helping release the Pentonville Five.

## Ports are at a standstill throughout Britain

MIDLAND COLD Storage yesterday dropped the legal action which led to the jailing of five London dockers and sparked an unofficial national docks strike.

The official action called by Transport and General Workers' Union delegates last Thursday remained solid, however. The only supplies moving were to the Channel Islands, Orkney and Shetland and oil-rigs in the North Sea.

Dock gate mass meetings took place in LONDON to hear reports-back from last Thursday's docks delegate meeting, which decided to call a national strike, and the national shop stewards' meeting in Birmingham on Saturday.

Jim Carpenter, chairman of the Port of London Authority stewards in the group, told a Royal group meeting: 'This is the last fight. If we lose this one, we're in real trouble.'

George Learmouth told the West India dockers, London, that the proposal made by the Jones-Aldington report to take men off the temporary unattached register was 'only a stop-gap' until December.

'Would the government come forward after then and give the cash to keep them on? I say they wouldn't they would turn round and say do what you like,' he told the meeting.

The London shop stewards committee has appealed for financial support to be sent to their headquarters at the Labour Party rooms, Will Thorn House, 585 Barking Road, London E13. Meanwhile more than 145 ships were idle in the Thames.

The total number in the river was 175, but the Port of London Authority claimed that 30—oil



George Learmouth, a docks delegate, speaking to West India dockers yesterday

tankers, colliers and ballast carriers—were working.

Thirty of the remainder were at anchor off Southend and Shoeburyness, 25 in dock and about 90 tied up along the river.

Shop stewards at LIVERPOOL decided yesterday morning to call at a mass meeting tomorrow for a big lobby of the T&GWU delegate conference whenever it is held.

Last Thursday a special train took 450 Merseyside dockers to London to lobby the delegates. Stewards hope for a similar number to attend this time.

Meanwhile 49 ships were strikebound in the river following Sunday's mass-meeting decision to continue the strike 'until our just demands are met'.

Dockers at HULL continued their picketing of unregistered ports on the Humber yesterday. Eleven ships are stranded at Hull, nine having sailed rather than be held up any longer. Dockers' leaders are planning a meeting with transport drivers' stewards in the next few days.

A spokesman for the FORTH Ports Authority said that Fife port workers at Methil, Kirkcaldy and Burntisland had returned from their annual trade holiday and immediately joined the strike. Two ships were lying unattended at Methil.

At Leith, he said, there were a dozen ships waiting to unload and there were seven cargo vessels partly discharged at Grangemouth.

A CLYDE Port Authority spokesman said that there were 29 ships affected in the Clydeport area, which includes Glasgow, Ardrossan and Greenock. Six of these were at anchor off the Tail o' the Bank. None of

the vessels was thought to be carrying perishable cargoes.

Ships continued to lie idle in Scottish ports.

Some were being worked at ABERDEEN—but only those carrying vital supplies to Orkney and Shetland and oil rigs.

In the fish dock, porters were unloading boats normally. The Fish Market Porters' Association decided at the weekend not to join the dockers stoppage.

PORTSMOUTH dockers voted to lift their ban on essential supplies for the Channel Islands.

A meeting agreed to set up a vetting panel to decide what goods would be allowed through. But exports from the islands will not be unloaded and 400 tons of tomatoes which arrived in the port last Friday aboard the coaster 'Norman Commodore' will be left to rot.

At NORTH SHIELDS the 130 dockers met and decided to continue their strike. They will meet again on Thursday.

Pickets were on duty at six gates at SOUTHAMPTON docks yesterday checking all vehicles to ensure there was no unofficial working.

The 2,400 dockers at the south coast port joined the national strike on Thursday in solidarity with stevedores throughout Britain.

Pickets at No. 4 gate told Workers Press reporter Ian Yeats:

'We are not really affected because there is no stuffing or stripping done off the dock. But we've come out to support the other lads otherwise we'd be stabbing them in the back.'

About 50 per cent of the docks freight traffic is container-

ized, but unlike the big traditional ports of London, Liverpool and Hull, modernization has not led to sackings.

Although private cross Channel ferry services continue to operate, dockers claimed no authorized cargoes were getting away.

About 40 London dockers arrived at the British Railways container terminal at Parkestone, HARWICH, where members of the National Union of Railwaymen were still working.

The Parkestone workers have voted to continue working and to handle any diverted cargo. British Rail has said, however, that it will not accept diverted goods.

Dockers at the unregistered port of NORWICH yesterday agreed to continue unloading the timber ship 'Kerstin Eva'.

But they will not work on any other vessel until the dispute is over.

This decision was reached after 20 striking dockers from YARMOUTH arrived at Norwich Quay on hearing that the Norwich men had been at work on the 'Kerstin Eva' since Friday.

Another timber boat due at Norwich today will not be unloaded.

The Norwich stevedores have been seeking registration of the port so that only properly recognized labour would unload ships. The Yarmouth dockers have promised support for this move.

WEYMOUTH'S 80 dockers decided yesterday against making any exception to the complete stoppage. They will not handle essential supplies to the Channel Islands, or the Guernsey tomato trade.

They meet again on Thursday.

## LATE NEWS

THE ORDER stopping dockers picketing the east London cold store of Midland Cold Storage from threatening a national 'black' of vehicles crossing the picket line was removed yesterday.

In a five-minute application by the company the National Industrial Relations Court agreed to discharge the order, which had led to five of the dockers spending four days in jail. See above.

SINN FEIN the political wing of the Official IRA, said the Ulster invasion should, 'display to all groups the utter uselessness of engaging in talks with the British government.'

Eire premier Jack Lynch appealed against any violent reaction to the invasion. He is in Cork where his government is undergoing a test at a by-election. The government candidate is under strong pressure from a nominee of the Republican movement.

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